CHILD STUDY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL of PARENT EDUCATION

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HEADLINES

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What makes children act the way they do? To discover the roots of behavior we have to look behind surface symptoms for the deeper emotional urges which are the real mainsprings.

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Various aspects of behavior at different ages are discussed in this issue by: Frances L. Ilg, M.D., of the Yale University Clinic of Child Development, who has collaborated with Dr. Arnold Gesell on many books, including the recent "Infant and Child in the Culture of Today"; Lili E. Peller, Director of the Field Laboratory at the Child Education Foundation; Alice V. Keliher, Associate Professor at New York University and Educational Director of the Walden School; Fritz Redl, Associate Professor of Group Work at Wayne University, Detroit, Mich. The "Parents Contribute" articles are written by Evelyn Emig Mellon, who is a frequent contributor to *Parents' Magazine,* and Dorothy Nathan, a member of the Bibliography Committee of the Child Study Association.

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The Spring issue of CHILD STUDY will be devoted to an evaluation of the forthcoming Annual Institute of the Child Study Association on "The American Family—1944—Facing the Future."

EDITORIAL

PERHAPS the greatest recent advance made in our understanding of children's behavior is the insight which analytical psychiatry has given us into the unconscious drives which underlie behavior. As the concept of unconscious motivation becomes increasingly clear to parents and others who work with children, it proves a most illuminating tool for discovering causes behind a child's behavior where cause and effect are not otherwise apparent to grown-ups and usually completely unknown to the child. Along with this understanding of unconscious motivation has also come a deeper understanding of the strong inter-relation between emotional factors and children's physical disturbances and their learning.

In trying to get at the roots of a child's behavior, it is important that we always keep two aspects in mind: what we can expect of children in general at different stages of normal development, and what we know about an individual child. Teachers, for example, now recognize that each child brings to school not only himself, but his whole family, and that his behavior can be understood only with a knowledge of his family setting.

When do behavior problems need special help? An understanding of the norms of development and of the fact that roots of behavior lie far beneath the surface will help to make us sensitive to any marked deviation from the normal. The best possibilities for prevention lie in spotting these undramatic, early manifestations of difficulties. It is at this point that people with professional training and insight can best give a particular child the kind of help he needs. Anybody can spot behavior difficulties by the time they are extreme, when the child becomes seriously maladjusted or delinquent. What we need most is parents and teachers who can recognize the child who is chronically disturbed or unhappy so that serious difficulties may be prevented at the source.

THE EDITORS.

The Demands of Development in Infancy

By FRANCES L. ILG, M.D.

BIT BY BIT, we who are in the field of child development are beginning to see and define the multiform patterns of growth, not only the patterns which develop more or less regardless of environment, but also those which develop in relationship to the child's mother, the most important part of his early environment. The key given to us by our knowledge of child development is an amazing one, because it opens doors so rapidly that we are appalled by our previous blindness. Now our further task is to define and relate what we know in simple living terms and sequences so that this body of knowledge may become the cultural heritage of every mother and child. That day is not far, for we have already seen the great eagerness with which parents today, fathers as well as mothers, are embracing and putting to good use that knowledge which has been made available about how a child develops.

We are perhaps too ready to repudiate the wide pendulum swings in child care that preceded the present relatively middle course. These were the swings on the one side to firm control and restriction of experience, and on the other side to absolute freedom without direction or control. It would be better if we thought of these swings as testing grounds, as necessary stages that have actually given impetus to our search for the true ways of growth. In the first swing, the parent was the central figure and in the next swing, the child became the central figure. Now we have come to know that it is not one alone, but both which are important—and particularly the interaction between the two. We have come to respect the child's potentialities and to find ways to help him fit into his environment. This can perhaps best be accomplished by the kind of self-regulation which includes not only self-demand, but also self-adjustment. At first the infant's demands far outweigh his adjustment, but with satisfaction the demand decreases and the adjustment increases. With some infants demand always seems to have the upper hand and with others adjustment is in the ascendancy. These may, however, be reversed in the same child at a different stage of development. With most, the interplay of these two forces, especially with the directing help of the parent, is always being equalized, though never static.

The mother of today is eager to know how to direct her child, is eager to accept her responsibility, and this awareness provides the best soil for her own rapid growth. She is thinking of herself in relation to her child. She wants to know what the optimum possibilities are and what the necessary protection should be. She wants to know when she is most essential to her growing child and how she can best satisfy his needs. She readily grasps the meaning of growth in the first four months when fluctuations of behavior are the rule and the most responsive handling is needed. She also feels the need of a continuity in handling during the first two years of life before the child has established his own ego. These first two years, though a relatively short span, are most important, and we shall confine ourselves to the development within these years. Here we see major periods of unity between mother and child, followed by relative periods of separation. The physiological unity of pregnancy is followed by the separation of birth. And the emotional unity between mother and child in the first two years gradually merges into the child's first larger separation when he becomes able to adjust to a person other than his mother taking over the routines of his life.

The time when the infant needs the mother most is in the first four months of his life. And the mother also needs the child, to complete and satisfy her emotional as well as her physiological being. There should rarely be any conflict in her mind whether she should or should not nurse her baby. Breast feeding has been devaluated because artificial feeding has undoubtedly been a success—from the purely physical standpoint. Yet when the psychological as well as physical angles are considered, breast milk is deemed the preferred food, especially for the very young infant. It is now up to tthe medical profession and to mothers to bring breast feeding back into respectability as providing the best food and greatest emotional satisfaction to the infant during the first four months of life. Successful

breast feeding also depends on proper preparation of the nipples during pregnancy so they may withstand the rigors of sucking and thus prevent the cracking which is a rather common cause for the discontinuing of breast feeding.

A ready response to the infant's demands for food is another factor in successful breast feeding. This can best be accomplished by having the baby close to the mother, in a basket beside her bed. This closeness, which reveals so clearly the extreme helplessness of the human infant, brings out the mother's most protective and fostering care. By listening to him and watching him, she grows to know her child. She comes to believe in a prompt response to his crying. Obstetrical services are fortunately beginning to recognize this need of closeness between mother and child and are fostering a "rooming-in" arrangement which need not be postponed to the time when the infant goes home.

The mother's decisions about action can be surprisingly well guided by the baby. Helpless though he is, he can cry and he can be quiet. His demands during the first six weeks are pretty well defined. He likes to be fed when he is hungry and to suck to his satisfaction, which usually means a second chance on the other breast. He likes to be held closely or swaddled in a blanket, to be sung to and rocked, especially before he goes to sleep, and he likes to be kept dry and clean. He isn't too happy in a tub of water before he is four weeks old and he may be so hungry and sleepy at ten in the morning that he would prefer to have his bath in the late afternoon when he is more alert. Such are the demands the mother hears and soon learns to answer with ease and understanding. Her being becomes attuned to her baby and she knows and feels that she is completing his nervous system.

A rather difficult time commonly occurs during the period between six and ten weeks when evening crying, frequently associated with colic, becomes a daily happening. This crying occurs coincidently with the baby's new visual and social awareness and may well be a gastro-intestinal overflow similar to the diarrhea of the 21-month-old child and the stomach ache of the three-and-a-half to four-year-old child when new social awareness are making fresh inroads on him. This evening crying period is one of the first challenging problems which the mother and father need to solve. In the days when the child was supposed to "cry it out" the mother would leave the house temporarily and the father would retire to his work bench and attempt to drown out the very distressing crying with his hammering. But this did not really meet the situation. The family simply lived through it and sighed with relief when the child stopped crying, thinking he had learned by experience not to cry, when actually he had grown beyond this crying stage.

In handling such crying, the decision as to whether to give more or less stimulation needs to be made. If the child needs more stimulation, he may be helped by being allowed to kick nude on the kitchen table as he watches the colors and lights and movements of the people around him. If he needs less stimulation, he may be quieted by being held and sung to or being taken for a drive in the car. This choice of "less" or "more," of "protection from" or "propulsion into," is a decision the mother has to make repeatedly. By experience she will soon learn what is best for her child and though she needs to choose "less" and "protection from" frequently, she may also know that in due time, if he is not pushed too soon, he will be ready to take "more" and "propulsion into."

When the first twelve to sixteen weeks are passed, life seems more secure, more stable. The child no longer demands to be fed at night and may even precede his early morning feeding by eager "talking." He has an extra margin of energy after his feeding and loves to be talked to. He enjoys sitting propped up, wants to touch and feel everything he can lay his hands on, and loves social play on the wide expanse of a bed in the late afternoon. Life's patterns as they now unfold are multiform and rich in texture. They come tumbling one after the other when a child and his mother are living in harmony and when the mother attunes her give and take to that of her child. Many things seem to happen first with the mother alone and the father has to be satisfied by the telling of the tale.

CONFLICTS between mother and child rarely occur during the first year of life, but if the mother does not appreciate the nature of growth, she may produce tensions and difficulties in the second year—tensions and conflicts that could be avoided. It is helpful if she realizes that a child must lose some habits in order to build up new habits at a higher level. Growth is not steady in its progress, but the back swings actually give the child the momentum to go forward.

In the development of elimination control these "irregular" growth patterns show themselves very clearly. The infant's awareness of being wet or soiled does not continue after the first six weeks. When the bowel movement occurs just long enough after a

feeding for him him to be placed on a pot around twelve weeks of age, a very short period of fortuitously "successful" training may occur. Again at the nine- to twelve-month period, when sitting is well established, a successful period of bowel training occurs, only to be given up later when the child may even refuse to sit on the toilet. If the mother is watchful at this stage, she will notice that he has his bowel movement when lying down or standing at his crib or play pen rail. The extension produced by the new activities of standing and walking has interfered with the release in the sitting position. But this will return again at fifteen to eighteen months, though success may still be more fortuitous than real. The child is most capable of "telling" after he has gone, by pointing to his pants at this stage. He learns backward just as we learn by experience. Later, he recognizes when he is functioning, and finally he can tell just before he "goes." This ability is not well established before the age of two, when he begins to differentiate the two elimination functions by two separate words.

OFTEN there is an interesting period around 21 months when the child is ashamed of what he has done and may blame a puddle he has made on his grandfather or the cat. It is at this age that punishment is most apt to occur since the parent feels that because he is ashamed, the child knows better. But it is at this very stage when the child is aware of and yet not in control of his act that he is both most vulnerable and also most close to his goal. He needs definite help at this stage, to think of his future successes and to eliminate his past failures, by the pleasing phrase of "not any more." The mother need not come into conflict with the child as long as she knows the road they are traveling together.

This road is often made easier by the introduction of new influences, new caretakers, as soon as the child can adjust to them. In the first four months the mother's and child's lives are so closely bound together that there is little opportunity for planned separation. But when the child's life is more ordered, when the periods between necessary routines lengthen, the mother may well profit by periods of separation. The fatigue of awareness, of planning and thinking for her child comes with the care the mother of today gives her child. That is why it is essential for her to have some apartness, that she may return with the fresh perspective that only distance brings. From the child's point of view, these early beginnings of emotional weaning slowly build up the matrix within which further weaning is able to develop.

The father is usually the first person beside the mother to be accepted by the infant. By twelve weeks of age the infant is able to go beyond his response to his mother and shift to the father, especially in the evening. The thrill of being preferred, if only for a short time, should be the father's right; but he must not be too greedy, for if he stays during a breast feeding the baby may prefer him to the feeding. These periods of interest and preference for the father come and go. They are ideal times for the father to set up some type of continuity in his care of his child. But if he is unable to maintain this continuity as long as the child wants it, he had best not begin it.

OUR young people—high school boys and girls, for instance—should be having experience in learning how to care for a baby in the short periods between his important routines, such as eating and sleeping. Some day our community life may be so integrated that our educational systems may provide such experience as a part of young people's training. The student will then come to the home equipped with the knowledge of how a seven-month-old baby takes his carriage ride or how an eighteen monther takes his darting walks. The mother should, of course, always be in control of what is happening to her child, and she will naturally remain the one who is preferred and necessary for all the routines in the child's first two years of life. At 21 to 24 months of age the child is actually able to express this emotional closeness to his mother by his greater affection and his terms of endearment, for "my mommy." This sharper awareness of his mother just precedes his ability to express his own sense of himself which he does with a strong "I."

At about two years of age, he is soon capable of having someone other than his mother take over the basic routines of life, or at least most of them. In the two- to three-year-old period these routines are actually performed more easily with another person. Then the mother may enjoy the in-between play periods with her child. This ability to adjust to another person besides his mother is the first big step in emotional weaning which the child has been able to make, but he can only accomplish it successfully if he is with one person at a time. He must wait until three or four years of age before he can handle two persons at once. The mother should be aware of this and be ready to grow with each new emotional hurdle the child has to take.

Early Conflicts and Triumphs

By LILI E. PELLER

THE years from two to six are a period of contrasts and conflicts. It is the age of the most intense though usually short-lived emotions, ranging from great triumphs to crushing defeats. We adults are seldom aware of how much the young child is being driven and pushed by opposing forces from within. Physically he is close to us—he likes to bring his toys right where we are, and loves to sit on our lap; yet the world he lives in is remote from ours, and it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to identify ourselves with his sorrows and his joys, to understand his fears and apprehensions.

In terms of actual development, there can be no doubt that a baby grows quicker, covers more ground in a month than does the pre-school child. But the infant does so by pushing all in one direction; there are no conflicts within his world, though there may be a great discrepancy between his needs and our ability or willingness to satisfy them. The young child has the additional burden of being often at odds with himself.

Parents are sometimes upset by the tendency of the child, toward the end of his second year, to say "No" to practically everything. This is a necessary stage of development, more pronounced in one child than in another, but present in every healthy youngster starting his second year. To understand it we have to cast a look at his immediate past. He has just won tremendous victories, and has done so by dint of sheer perseverance. There is no other way, for example, of mastering the art of walking than by dogged persistence, ignoring failures, ignoring hurts, and carrying on. The *increase in power* gained through acquiring the skills of walking and talking is great indeed. Very few of us will ever, in later life, make any comparable gains. It is no wonder, then, that the two-year-old sets out on further conquests with these two notions: "One conquers difficulties by perseverance, by stubbornness," and "I must be a pretty smart fellow, see what I can do."

Of course, he cannot verbalize his feelings in these words—but just observe how he behaves, and you will see it written all over him.

Both of these proud notions are bound to collapse soon. He finds out that physical perseverance is not an unfailing method for overcoming obstacles. He finds that others are far more powerful than he is. At first, the right technique was simply to attack resistance directly and vigorously. Just watch him puffing along straddle-legged when he wants to get somewhere, see him brushing aside an obstacle, or panting in absorbed excitement as he manipulates some new object. It takes great will-power to command those clumsy legs, those chubby fingers. In spite of resistance at literally "every step," he trudges on, expanding his world.

But now, rather suddenly, he finds himself dealing not with his own body but with people, and his old technique which formerly led to success, leads him now into trouble. He has to learn to discriminate between when it is wise to plunge ahead and when it is better to stop, look, and compromise before spending all his strength in resistance. But in the meantime we call him stubborn, and many parents grow concerned, fearing that they have failed to discipline him properly and that he is getting too headstrong for a world where rewards go to those able to wait and to compromise. There is, however, no reason for concern. The child is increasingly eager to harvest approval, and, for approval's sake, he comes to modify his response, learning when to give in and when to persevere.

The young child's emotions are intense and forceful and envelop him completely. His feelings of happiness as well as grief are unmitigated. As adults, we usually carry some hope of change with us even in the deepest suffering and, while enjoying happiness, we are aware of its fleeting quality. But the little child rides on the crest of the wave or plunges into disappointment as if it were forever and ever. His horizon is limited by what he feels right *now*. We used to speak of "happy childhood," but now mistrust this term as a romantic sentimentalism. Happy childhood is not a period of life; it is our recollection of those moments of undiluted happiness and triumphs as we experienced them especially in early childhood.

There would be fewer misunderstandings between adults and children if we could have more insight into their world. Ours is governed by stable laws of cause and effect. The young child partly understands the physical laws—in fact, he often surprises us by his realism—yet, on the other hand, in the child's mind, it is magic which rules events. What happens to

him comes not by necessity but as reward or punishment. Good and evil wishes are powerful agents.

Young children are subject to the moods of the adults with whom they live, being swayed by them without knowing their reasons. This is all right when the adults feel adequate to their tasks, but when they are haunted by anxieties or are emotionally unbalanced the young child shares in the insecurity, without any awareness of the cause or the remedy for the anxiety.

Sometimes when we have a concrete reason for our worry, talking it over with the child, giving him explanations which are in keeping with his age and understanding, will reassure him because it dispels the mystery. Unbelievable as it sounds, we can be far more successful in hiding our true mood from adult friends than from a little child. Yet we are likely to be sincere with the adult, taking him into our confidence, while putting on a false smile with the child. When we do this we leave the child suspended amidst anxiety and uneasiness. Telling him why we are worried or tired today will help him get his feet on the ground.

While we consider it correct to hide our feelings from children, we take it for granted that young children are absolutely sincere in showing their own. We say somebody is "frank as a little child." It sometimes comes as a shock to a parent to find out that his own child has been carrying a sorrow which he never knew about. Recent studies of children in wartime confirm what psychologists who are close to children have long known—that, as a rule, children are not only unwilling but actually unable to speak about their acute worries and fears.

While under the grip of acute emotional pain, a child is unable to put it into words. The average adult will seek to lessen the severity of a shock by telling others what he went through. But this channel is usually denied to a child. He can, however, act it out in play, dramatize it. His play will give us a clue to what is on his mind.

If we have a friend near, we adults can be sure of finding sympathy. But a child's play is not oriented toward communication, and he may continue to live under a great emotional strain which is not understood, even though he is surrounded by those who love him. How often will adults tell you of some fear or desire which dominated their childhood, and add: "Of course, my parents never knew anything about this."

As the child gets on to about five or six, some parents begin to think: "Soon Frankie will start going to school and get busy with his school work. I'd better roll up my sleeves and start to train him right now while he has nothing on his mind but his play." Yet the average young child lives in a world where there are strain and excitement, unexpected clashes of love and hate, to a far greater degree than in our lives. We may envy him for the wholehearted way he becomes completely absorbed in what he is doing, his singleness of purpose, but give up the idea that he has much extra time or energy. It may not seem so, but he is trying very hard to fit himself into our world. Most primitive people start to train and restrict their children only after their sixth or seventh year, displaying utter leniency toward the young child. There may be good reasons for this, and they may be wiser than we know.

All children are subject to anxieties and irrational fears. Loving and understanding parents can, as a rule, save the child from the most acute fears, but no one can completely protect young children from all the inner anxieties so common to this period. Fear of abandonment, for example, is the most pervasive fear of childhood, and it feeds on many events in the average nursery. Whenever the child is scolded or punished, when another child is praised, when a new baby arrives, or when the child is separated from his parents for a few hours and cannot quite understand why he has been left by those he loves—then this fear creeps in: "Do they want to get rid of me?" Quite often a child could well stand a temporary separation from his parents, or even enjoy it, if he were not beset by the fear that this may lead to further abandonment, and that unless he struggles with all his might to get back to his parents, he may lose them. When mother is a little late, for example, in calling for Diana at the nursery school, she may find her dissolved in tears. Of course, it is not the few minutes of waiting which entails any hardship on the child, but the haunting fear of being abandoned.

The point is that adults, of course, know that such separation will be temporary, and it can be explained to an older child, but our words cannot reach the young child across the gulf separating his world from ours. He is left a prey to his irrational anxieties. It is because the young child does not have the security of stable physical laws that he has such great need of our unfailing affection.

This fear of being abandoned is so widespread, is at the root of such a variety of developments, and can be compensated in so many different ways, that it seems worthwhile drawing parents' attention to it again and again.

The fairy tale of Hansel and Gretel owes its universal appeal to the successful dramatization of this fear. Children in civilized society are highly appreciated, and no one thinks of exposing helpless children to the elements. Yet the ancient fear of being abandoned is as vigorous today as in primitive days. As you may remember, the parents in the story, driven by poverty and famine, plan to get rid of their children. Hansel, however, overhears the plan and counterplots it. When left in the deep forest, the children find their way back home to their parents by following Hansel's trail of dropped pebbles glittering in the moonlight. The parents repeat the plot, and this time the children are lost in the deep woods and fall into the clutches of the old witch, who has her tempting gingerbread hut in the deep forest waiting just for such stray children. By clever ruses and great persistency, Hansel and Gretel eventually outsmart the witch, and after pushing her into the oven, return to their parents and live happily ever after.

Most of the other fairy tales were originally stories for adults and usually lead up to the heroine's marriage, but Hansel and Gretel is a true children's story, its theme the central fear of childhood—abandonment.

The spell of this fear exerts a great pressure on the young child. He may become overly conforming in the hope of holding his parents' affection by being "very, very good." Or he may turn naughty because naughtiness is the surest and simplest means of gaining attention, and the parents' attention alleviates his fear. He may start fussing over his food, for example, if this proves to be an effective means of holding the center of the stage. For many people, gaining attention and wanton naughtiness are synonymous. The truth is, however, that the child who asks for too much attention is in distress. This insistence is a signal that something is wrong with him. A young child can tell us little by his words, but much by his symptoms. It is a clumsy way, but it is the young child's only way. The following is a case in point:

Ray, aged four and a half, insisted on having his mother read to him while he ate. He was a very poor eater and dawdled over his meals. His pediatrician could find no physical cause for his lack of appetite. The mother wanted to break him of this "bad habit," but when she tried to stop reading he would not eat at all. Finally she sought the advice of an expert, who pointed out that since this mother was a very busy woman, the child had discovered that compelling her to sit and read to him was the only assurance he had of being able to keep her near him in one spot for more than a few minutes. As soon as she understood what he wanted, she planned her day so that she could give him companionship at other times, and the eating difficulty cleared up.

A child who has been fairly independent and eager for new experiences may begin to shrink from strangers, hide, and be sullen just when mother wants him to be on his best behavior. After the arrival of a new baby, for instance, he may try various techniques for holding on to his parents' affection. Seeing that the helpless baby is so highly appreciated, he may try to imitate it by showing himself unable to eat without help, or by going back to wetting his pants. If this technique is not successful, he may attempt to win his parents by showing the same demonstrative affection and admiration for his little sister as his parents do. Or, more simply, he may try to get rid of the intruder by offering her to neighbors. Most people are quick to apply the term jealousy to the last type of behavior, yet fail to see how jealousy also contributes substantially to the other responses which may seem on the surface to have no direct connection with the new baby.

An illustration of this was the behavior of Elsie, who had loved nursery school in the three-year-old group, but now suddenly refused to go. Often she would vomit after breakfast so that she would be too sick to go to school. Her mother was sure that Elsie was afraid of her new teacher, or that there was something else in the nursery school set-up which she did not like. When the situation was investigated, however, it turned out that the root of the trouble was in the home and not in the nursery school at all. Elsie did not want to leave her home now because her mother was there with a new baby, and the child was worried about what went on in the home while she was away from it, relegated to nursery school. Once the cause was understood, it was easier to help mother and child.

These instances could be duplicated innumerable times. They are typical illustrations of how the fear of losing the parents' affection may provoke almost any type of behavior symptoms.

Five-year-old Al, for example, was afraid to go to sleep without a light in his room. His mother had tried everything—a flashlight by his bed, a light in the hall, not scaring him with exciting stories before bedtime—in an effort to break him of what she thought was a babyish habit. Al was a quiet, reserved, otherwise well-adjusted boy, with two brothers who were much more outgoing and demonstrative. When his father came home in the evening, the brothers would run to meet him, while Al remained

quietly in the background. The clue which cleared up the night-time difficulty came when his parents found out that this boy was very affectionate, though undemonstrative, and anxious to be drawn out and included in the attention his father paid his brothers. The fear of darkness disappeared when Al gained a sense of security in his waking hours, when he was reassured about his parents' love for him. For his real fear was not based at all on going to bed in the dark—this was only the symptom of a deeper anxiety.

The point is that each one of these difficulties could also have been dealt with in different ways than are here described. In each instance the child's behavior could have been called "sheer naughtiness" needing stern discipline. There are still hundreds of Elsies being sent to nursery school in spite of violent protests, and their mothers are told that it will be good for them to "cry it out," and hundreds of Als are left alone in the dark with their fears. In most cases these children eventually give up their protests and are broken into the behavior pattern their parents demand. It is the very exceptional child whose condition gets so critical that the help of a psychiatrist is needed. The great majority of the Elsies, Rays, and Als eventually grow out of their childish difficulties in the same way that a broken arm can heal without proper medical attention. But, though he can use it, the man with the broken arm which has not been properly helped, almost invariably finds that the mobility, the usefulness of his arm has been restricted and its former strength impaired.

SEVERAL years ago there appeared at the pediatric clinic of Johns Hopkins, a nine-year-old boy with severe burns in need of treatment. His body was covered with scars and an examination revealed that he was completely insensitive to pain. Needles could be pushed into his skin, he did not feel them. Several such cases have come to the attention of physicians. But we are glad that they are extremely rare because suffering is a sign of injury not to be ignored. The person without the sense of physical pain is left without a vital protection.

Children's behavior problems should be regarded as similar signs. Though they are annoying and sometimes exasperating, they are the only means by which we may see that Ray misses his mother's companionship, that Al is afraid that his father prefers his brothers, and Elsie fears being displaced by her baby brother. Of course we can be hardboiled and declare that we just won't permit any such foolishness in our house: Al must simply stay in his dark room and we don't care whether or not Ray eats anything. For a short time we may be deluded about our apparent success, but in the long run we will probably come to see how such an attitude has curbed their healthy curiosity, stunted their ability to give and take affection spontaneously, or undermined the self-confidence that should carry them over the inevitable later bumps and hurdles. It may have laid the foundation for a neurotic fear of meeting strangers, or set the stage for a desire to step on those who are weaker.

It is not of much consequence what mistakes parents may make in the details of managing children, provided they learn to look for and understand some of the reasons which underlie behavior symptoms. Persistent annoying behavior indicates an unsatisfied need. There is no effective short-cut for such difficulties, no successful remedy except to find the *reason* behind the child's annoying behavior.

As stated in the beginning, early childhood is the period of many conflicting desires. Though apparently fully occupied by their childish world, young children have a great desire to come in and share in our own. They often show this need to be accepted by the grown-ups and not to be relegated entirely to their toys. Do you remember in Kipling's *Wee Willie Winkie*, the active six-year-old who got into trouble almost daily? His behavior changed suddenly (though not permanently), when he was taken into confidence by Coppy, a lieutenant in his father's regiment. Kipling showed a keen insight into child psychology in seeing how "the idea that he shared a great secret in common with Coppy kept Wee Willie Winkie unusually virtuous for three weeks."

Many educators have noticed and deplored the way the young child's radiant intelligence seems to lose it bloom and to give way to the rather colorless period of the school age child. As one explanation of this, Freud, more than thirty years ago, attributed the change to our harsh methods of curbing early curiosity in sexual matters which carried over to repress later intellectual curiosity. Since that time many of us have learned to use more understanding methods, and yet the contrast between the zest for living of a group of three-year-olds and the uninspiring conformity of a group of seven- or eight-year-olds is still in evidence. However, I would hesitate to accept this change in the average child with complete fatalism. It seems to me that by trying to interpret his needs with more love and greater understanding, we may succeed in preserving more of the young child's sensitiveness and sparkling vitality.

Behavior Has Its Roots Down Deep

By ALICE V. KELIHER

"WELL, Ma'am, I ain't much surprised about Seth not eatin' his squash, him havin' inherited that from me. I don't noways eat it, neither."

Seth's father, a coal miner, told me in these words why I had failed at school lunch to get Seth to touch his fork to the squash. Seth was quiet about it, but stubborn—very stubborn. Seth would eat meat and bread in gratifying quantities for a boy who was plainly starving. But no vegetables. And particularly no squash. I intend to spare you the details of my struggle to get Seth to taste squash. If I had known what I know now about Seth—and about nutrition—I would never have raised the issue. But raise it I did, and since I attacked the problem on the basis of stubbornness in squash-eating instead of considering all the emotional factors involved at home, I suffered a thumping defeat. Seth did not taste the squash; he took the issue to his family; mother bought him ice cream instead, and father came to explain the hereditary factors to me. As far as I know, Seth still does not eat squash. And he probably remembers me as a woman who was stubborn.

On the other hand, there was the mother who came to school and said, "*You* make Sammy go to bed nights, I can't. He would do it for you."

And there was Susan, who had the most strenuous rages I have ever seen in a seven-year-old. She shrieked and howled at regular intervals. Her energy at these times came forth in a burst and left her exhausted. Apparently she hated everyone. At heart, she was lonely.

Jane simply wouldn't learn to read. Her I.Q. was impeccable—122. When the other six- and seven-year-old children were reading their diary charts, Jane stood on the fringe and twisted her skirt in her fingers. Occasionally she found a clear space in the center of the room. At these times she would stand right in the middle of the space, drop her lower jaw, and scream. No tears, no anguish—just noise. Then she would draw a picture of Ella Cinders.

Ted wanted to hurt somebody. He took every chance to whack children over the head, to strike the boy in front of him on the back of the neck. Ted was a terror. At seven he had systematically earned the fear of everyone about him. There's something fantastic about that—grown-ups afraid of a child—so I offered to take Ted into my class. When he came I first of all put him in charge of caring for the canary bird.

Billy was absolutely quiet. No trouble at all to anyone. But his six-year-old hands shook like those of a palsied old man.

Seth, Sammy, Susan, Jane, Ted, and Billy are all pseudonyms for children I have taught. I can't write about how behavior has its roots down without writing about these children whom I have come to know and love through day by day living with them as their teacher and wondering about what made them act the way they did.

Seth came first because his behavior was tied up with food. Food is the first and strongest factor of human behavior. It gives the infant an intimate knowledge of its mother; builds strong possessive bonds into the relationship, and provides one of the few real sources of power available to the infant—the power of urgent helplessness. As the child develops, the helplessness diminishes and independence takes its place, but the power of food over mother and related grown-ups is still there. Critical times, such as the appearance of a new baby in the family, or the absorption of mother's attention by father's going in the armed forces, or a struggle with playmates that seems too hard to bear, will bring back memories of this power and the child will again try the behavior of infancy to restore the needed intimacy with his mother.

Fred, for example, would have sick headaches each morning and lose his breakfast just before it was time to go to school. He's eight and an only child. His father was killed two years ago. Mother is naturally worried about whether she can see Fred through school to a point where he can support himself and make the best use of his talents. It's important for Fred to do well in school; it's important for Fred to learn to read. Each night the question is phrased differently, but it says, "Are you learning to read? What did you read today?" Fred is finding it hard to learn to read because down inside himself he knows how important it is to his mother and he is afraid of failing her; he is focussing a large part of his energy on worrying, and yet he doesn't quite know what he is worrying about. It has to do with school. The thought of going to school becomes too hard to

take. He has a sick stomach each morning. Mother has too much to do holding down her job, trying to realize the truth of the fact that she will not see her husband again, worrying about the boy's future, to see him as he is today. All her worries focus on his school progress. And his fears well up and confuse him when he tries to read. He feels more and more a failure. So his old power over his mother—food—comes into use. Fred finds that he can get her time and attention by being sick. That is, until his mother got help, his teacher realized what was happening and the attitude toward his reading was changed. And all the time the boy was quite unaware of what was happening and the meaning of it all.

Sleep, going to bed, staying in bed, getting up, sleep-walking, are all parts of another strong relationship between mother and child. When the baby is new, mother grows agitated if he doesn't sleep enough. Long after, unconscious memories prompt the child to make a fuss about going to bed, because he feels that this is one of the important things to his mother.

Sammy's mother (who wanted me to make him go to bed at night) was the hard-working proprietress of a delicatessen. Sammy, at six, was more hindrance than help, so her tendency was to brush him aside and get him out of the way. Only late at night, after the store closed at eleven o'clock, was Sammy able to get in his innings. By making a scene about going to bed even at this late hour, he could secure the undivided attention of his mother. It's hard to tell a woman like Sammy's mother, worn out as she is, that some period of time devoted solely to Sammy during the day or early evening would help meet the need for attention he angrily demonstrates by refusing to "go to bed nights."

Susan, of the rages, too, was a "won't-go-to-bed-nights" problem. Her parents also kept a store, in which mother and father both worked until midnight. The easiest way to deal with Susan was to give her the price of a movie. Being only seven, Susan had to ask an adult to take her in, but since she was paying her own way she had no trouble finding one who would let her trot along beside and go in. Then Susan would stay until the last show was over and the lights went out. One night she was too weary to climb the two flights over the store to her bed, and slept in the vestibule all night. The next day Susan lost her temper, shrieked and raged in school, until I learned the whole story. I began to know how to detect the signs of the rages. Then I would roll her in a soft blanket and find a quiet place for her to sleep—sometimes for three hours at a stretch. After the visiting nurse had worked with the mother for some weeks, Susan announced to me that she didn't "have to sleep in school any more." My polite but pointed question revealed that she was now going to "sleep nights." Susan got over the tantrums in school when she no longer had to cope with such weariness.

REMEMBER Jane, who couldn't learn to read with 122 I.Q., and would occasionally stand in the middle of the classroom and scream? Jane's father worked all night at typesetting. For his convenience (he could have been Jane's grandfather), the family of three—father, mother (who was having all her teeth out), and Jane—lived in a tiny apartment right in the center of the business district. Jane couldn't make any noise—not at any time. Not during the day when father was sleeping. Not when mother's teeth ached. If Jane stepped out of their front door she was immediately engulfed in swarms of people—all very tall, all very much in a hurry, all too busy to notice a tiny little girl being pushed around like a leaf at high tide. No wonder her drawings of Ella Cinders were all elongated and queer-looking—the way people would look if you always had to be looking up from their coat-tails! We persuaded Jane's father and mother to move to a home neighborhood where Jane could have a backyard and could shout and run and live the normal running-around-playing-in-the-mud life of six-year-old children. Jane learned to read. She stopped standing in the middle of the floor and shrieking. And, best of all, she didn't live up to a prognosis of dementia praecox.

Ted had a perfectly logical reason for wanting to hurt other children. Ted felt unwanted and rejected at home. He had to sit through many conversations at the dinner table, listening to father and mother put the blame on each other's family for his "evil inheritance." When he sucked his thumb, for what comfort there was in it, he had bitter-tasting stuff put on his fingers and his hand encased in a wire frame. He then chewed holes through the sheets at night. When he was beaten for this, he took to whacking other children over the head and discovering other ways of hurting people.

As for Billy—lots of people would say Billy was a joy to have around. He never raised any problems, didn't hit anyone, didn't ask questions out of turn. He just sat quiet, very quiet. Except that his hands shook, like Grandpa's when he had the palsy. Only Billy was six years old. But Billy's father was dying

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Pre-Adolescents—What Makes Them Tick?

By FRITZ REDL

THE period of pre-adolescence is a stretch of no-man's land in child study work. By pre-adolescence I mean the phase when the nicest children begin to behave in a most awful way. This definition cannot exactly be called scientific, but those who have to live with children of that age will immediately recognize whom I am talking about. This also happens to be the age about which we know least. Most of our books are written either about Children or about Adolescents. The phase I am talking about lies somewhere between the two—crudely speaking, between about nine and thirteen, in terms of chronological age, or between the fifth and eighth grade in terms of school classification.

It is surprising that we know so little about this age, but there certainly is no doubt that it is one of the most baffling phases of all. Most referrals to child guidance clinics occur around this age, and if you look for volunteers to work on programs in recreation or child care, you will make this peculiar discovery: you will have no trouble finding people who just love to bathe little babies until they smell good and shine. You will have a little more, but not too much, trouble finding people who are just waiting for a chance to "understand" adolescents who "have problems" and long for a shoulder on which to cry. But the pre-adolescent youngster offers neither of these satisfactions. You won't find many people who will be very happy working with him.

Are they children? No. Of course, they still look like young children. Practically no visible change has as yet taken place in their sex development. The voice is about as shrill and penetrating as it ever was, the personal picture which they represent is still highly reminiscent of a child—of about the worst child you have met, however, definitely not of the child they themselves were just a short time ago.

Are they adolescent? No. While filled with a collector's curiosity for odd elements of information about human sex life at its worst, they are not as yet really maturing sexually. While they occasionally like to brag about precocity in their sex attitude, "the boy" or "the girl" of the other sex is still something they really don't know what to do with if left alone with it for any length of time. While impertinent in their wish to penetrate the secrets of adult life, they have no concepts about the future, little worry about what is going to happen to them, nothing they would like to "talk over with you."

The reason why we know so little about this phase of development is simple but significant: it is a phase which is especially disappointing for the adult, and especially so for the adult who loves youth and is interested in it. These youngsters are hard to live with even where there is the most ideal child-parent relationship. They are not as much fun to love as when they were younger, for they don't seem to appreciate what they get at all. And they certainly aren't much to brag about, academically or otherwise. You can't play the "friendly helper" toward them either—they think you are plain dumb if you try it; nor can you play the role of the proud shaper of youthful wax—they stick to your fingers like putty and things become messier and messier the more you try to "shape" that age. Nor can you play the role of the proud and sacerdotal warden of the values of society to be pointed out to eager youth. They think you are plain funny in that role.

So the parent is at a loss and ready for a desperate escape into either of two bad mistakes—defeatism or tough-guy-stubbornness. The teacher shrugs her shoulders and blames most of this pre-adolescent spook on the teacher the youngster had before her, or on lack of parental cooperation, and hopes that somehow or other these children will "snap out of it." Even the psychiatrist, otherwise so triumphantly cynical about other people's trouble with children, is in a fix. For with these children you can't use "play techniques" any longer. They giggle themselves to death about the mere idea of sitting in one room with an adult and playing a table game while that adult desperately pretends that this is all there is to it. And one can't use the usual "interview technique" either. They find it funny that they should talk about themselves and their life, that they should consider as a "problem" what has "just happened," that they should try and remember how they felt about things, and that they are constantly expected to have "worries" or "fears"—two emotions which they are most skillful at hiding from their own self-perception, even if they do occur. Most of these youngsters seriously think the adult himself is crazy if he introduces such talk, and they naïvely enjoy the troubles they make, rather than those they have, and would much rather

bear the consequences of their troubles than talk about them, even though those consequences include frustration or a beating or two.

Research, too, with very few exceptions, has skipped this period. If you study adolescence, you certainly can have graphs and charts on the rate at which the growth of pubic hair increases, the timing between that and the change of voice, and the irrelevance of both in terms of psycho-sexual development. Unfortunately, at the age we are talking about little of all this seems to take place. No drastic body changes occur, and whatever may happen within the glands is certainly not dramatic enough to explain the undoubtedly dramatic behavior of that phase. For a while some Yale biologists tried to discover an increase in hormone production around the age of eight, long before there is any visible sex maturation. However, they had trouble in making their research results useful for practical purposes. It took them weeks for one specimen of urine to be boiled in the right way so as to show up the existence or non-existence of these hormones, and in the meantime Johnny would probably have been kicked out of five more schools anyway. In short, research has discreetly left this phase alone, and has retired from it, as it always does from things which are either too hard to demonstrate by statistical methods, or too hot to talk about after they have been discovered.

Thus, the practitioner — the parent, the teacher, counsellor or group worker—is left to his own devices. Fortunately, most of the things which are characteristic symptoms of this phase are known to us all.

Pre-adolescent Behavior—Bad and Improper

Here are some of the most frequent complaints adults raise in connection with their attempts to handle pre-adolescents: Outwardly, the most striking thing about them is their extreme physical restlessness. They can hardly stand still, running is more natural to them than walking, the word sitting is a euphemism if applied to what they do with a table and a chair. Their hands seem to need constant occupational therapy—they will turn up the edges of any book they handle, will have to manipulate pencils, any objects near them, or any one of the dozen-odd things they carry in their pockets, or even parts of their own body, whether it be nose and ears, scratching their hair, or parts of the anatomy usually taboo in terms of infantile upbringing. The return to other infantile habits is surprisingly intensive in many areas: even otherwise well-drilled and very housebroken youngsters may again show symptoms like bed-wetting, soiling, nail-biting, or its substitutes, like skin-chewing, finger-drumming, etc. Funny gestures and antics seem to turn up overnight with little or no reason—such things as facial tics, odd gestures and jerky movements, long-outgrown speech disorders, and the like.

In other areas these youngsters do not return to exactly the same habits of their infancy, but they go back to typical problem areas of younger childhood and start again where they had left off. Thus their search for the facts of life which had temporarily subsided under the impact of partial parental explanations will be resumed with vehemence, and with the impudence and insistence of a news correspondent rather than with the credulity of an obedient young child. It is the oddity, the wild fantastic story and the gory detail which fascinate them more than parental attempts at well-organized explanations of propagation, which they find rather boring.

Their old interpretation of the difference of sexes is revived too. Girls seem obviously inferior to boys, who again interpret the difference in sex as that of a minus versus plus rather than of a difference in anatomical function. Thus girls are no good unless they are nearly like boys; and where the direct pride in masculine sexuality is subdued, indirect bragging about the size and strength of the biceps takes its place and becomes and sets the evaluation of anybody's worth. The girls go through somewhat the same phase, accept the interpretation of the boys all too eagerly and often wander through a period of frantic imitation of boyish behavior and negation of their female role. What sex manipulation does occur at this age usually happens in terms of experimentation and is on a highly organic level and very different from the masturbation of later adolescent years.

The fantasy life of youngsters of this age is something to look into, too. Wild day-dreams of the comic-strip type of adventure, on the one hand, long stages of staring into empty space with nothing going on in their conscious mind on the other, are the two poles between which their fantasy life moves rapidly back and forth. Often manipulative play with a piece of string or the appearance of listening to the radio cover long stretches of quickly changing flights of ideas, and youngsters who reply "nothing," when you ask them what they were thinking about, do not necessarily lie. This description really fits the content as far as it could possibly be stated in any acceptable logical order and grammatical form.

The most peculiar phenomena, though, are found in the area of adult-child relationships. Even young-

sters who obviously love their parents and have reason to do so, will develop stretches of surprising irritability, distrust, and suspicion. Easily offended and constantly ready with accusations that adults don't understand them and treat them wrongly, they are yet very reckless and inconsiderate of other people's feelings and are quite surprised if people get hurt because of the way they behave. The concept of gratitude seems to be something stricken from the inventory of their emotions. The worst meal at the neighbors', at which they weren't even welcome, may be described more glowingly in its glory than the best-planned feast that you arranged for their birthday. The silliest antics, the most irrelevant possessions or skills of neighbors will be admired 'way beyond any well-rooted qualities and superior achievements of father and mother.

Daily life with Junior becomes a chain of little irritations about little things. The fight against the demands of obeying the rules of time and space is staged as vehemently as if the children were one or two years old again. Keeping appointed meal times, coming home, going to bed at a prearranged hour, starting work, stopping play when promised—all these demands seem to be as hard to get across and as badly resented, no matter how reasonable the parents try to be about them, as if they were the cruel and senseless torments of tyranny.

Lack of submission to parent-accepted manners becomes another source of conflict. If these youngsters would listen as attentively to what Webster has to say as they do to the language of the worst ragamuffin on the street corner, their grades in English would be tops. Dressing properly, washing, keeping clean are demands which meet with obvious indignation or distrust. In a way, they seem to have lost all sense of shame and decency. Previously clean-minded youngsters will not mind telling the dirtiest jokes if they can get hold of them, and the most charming angels of last year can spend an hour giggling over the acrobatics which a youngster performs with his stomach gas and consider it the greatest joke.

And yet, while unashamed in so many ways, there are other areas of life where they become more sensitive rather than more crude: the idea of being undressed or bathed by their own parent may all of a sudden release vehement feelings of shame hitherto unknown to their elders, and the open display of affection before others makes them blush as though they had committed a crime. The idea of being called a sissy by somebody one's own age is the top of shamefulness and nearly intolerable because of the pain it involves.

One of the most interesting attitude changes during this period is that in boy-girl relationships. The boy has not only theoretical contempt for the girl but he has no place for her socially. Social parties which adults push so often because they find the clumsiness of their youngsters so cute, and because it is so safe to have boys and girls together at that age, such social dances are a pain in the neck to youngsters, who would obviously much rather have a good free-for-all or chase each other all over the place. The girls have little place in their lives for the same-age boys either. It is true that with them the transition through this pre-adolescent period usually is shorter than with the boys. But for a time their actual need for boy company is nil. The picture is different, though, if you watch the children within their own sex gangs. Then, all of a sudden, in talks under safe seclusion with their buddies, the boys or girls will display a trumped-up interest in the other sex, will brag about their sexual knowledge or precocity or about their success in dating. All this bragging, however, though it is about sex, is on an entirely unerotic level; the partner of the other sex only figures in it as the fish in the fisherman's story. The opposite sex, like the fish, serves only an indirect means for self-glorification.

What Makes Them Tick?

The explanation of this peculiar phenomenon of human growth must, I think, move along two lines. One is of an *individualistic* nature, the second is a chapter in *group psychology*.

Explanation No. I: During pre-adolescence the well-knit pattern of a child's personality is broken up or loosened, so that adolescent changes can be built into it and so that it can be modified into the personality of an adult.

Thus, the purpose of this developmental phase is not *improvement* but *disorganization;* not a permanent disorganization, of course, but a disorganization for future growth. This disorganization must occur, or else the higher organization cannot be achieved. In short, a child does not become an adult by becoming bigger and better. Simple "improvement" of a child's personality into that of an adult would only produce an oversized child, an infantile adult. "Growing" into an adult means leaving behind, or destroying some of what the child has been, and becoming something else in many ways.

The real growth occurs during adolescence: pre-

adolescence is the period of preliminary loosening up of the personality pattern in order that the change may take place. It is comparable to soaking the beans before you cook them. If this explanation is true, then we can understand the following manifestations:

1. During this "breaking-up-of-child-personality" period, old, *long-forgotten or repressed* impulses of earlier childhood will come afloat again, for awhile, before they are discarded for good. This would explain all that we have described about the return to infantile habits, silly antics, irritating behavior, recurring naughty habits, etc.

2. During this period of the breaking up of an established pattern, we also find that *already developed standards and values* lose their power and become ineffectual. Therefore the surprising lack of self-control, the high degree of disorganization, the great trouble those youngsters have in keeping themselves in shape and continuing to live up to at least some of the expectations they had no difficulty living up to a short time ago. The individual conscience of the child seems to lose its power, and even the force of his intellignce and insight into his own impulses is obviously weakened. This would explain all we have said about their unreliability, the lowering of these standards of behavior, the disappearance of some of the barriers of shame and disgust they had established and their surprising immunity to guilt feelings in many areas of life.

3. During a period of loosening up of personality texture, we would expect that the whole individual will be full of conflict, and that the *natural accompaniments* of conflict will appear again, namely, *anxieties and fears,* on the one hand, and *compulsive mechanisms of symbolic reassurance,* on the other. This is why so many of these youngsters really show fears or compulsive tics which otherwise only neurotic children would show. Yet this behavior is perfectly normal and will be only temporary. This would explain the frequent occurrence of fantastic fears in the dark, of ghosts and burglars, and it would also explain the intensity with which some of these youngsters cling to protective mechanisms, like the possession of a flashlight or gun as a symbol of protection, or the display of nervous tics and peculiar antics which usually include magic tricks to fool destiny and assure protection from danger or guilt.

For a long time I thought that all this about finishes the picture of pre-adolescent development, until a closer observation of the group life of pre-adolescents showed me that such a theory leaves much unexplained. It seems to me that there is still another explanation for a host of pre-adolescent symptoms.

Explanation No. II: During pre-adolescence it is normal for youngsters to drop their identification with adult society and establish a strong identification with a group of their peers.

This part of pre-adolescent development is of a group psychological nature, and is as important to the child's later functioning as a citizen in society as the first principle is for his personal mental and emotional health. This group phenomenon is surprisingly universal and explains much of the trouble we adults have with children of pre-adolescent age. To be sure that I am rightly understood, I want to emphasize that what happens during this age goes 'way beyond the personal relationship between Johnny and his father. Johnny's father now becomes for him more than his father: he becomes, all of a sudden, a representative of the value system of adult society versus the child, at least in certain moments of his life. The same is true the other way around. Johnny becomes more to his father than his child: at certain moments he isn't Johnny any more but the typical representative of Youth versus Adult. A great many of the "educational" things adults do to children, as well as many of the rebellious acts of children toward adults, are not meant toward the other fellow at all; they are meant toward the general group of "Adults" or "Youth" which this other person represents. To disentangle personal involvement from this group psychological meaning of behavior is perhaps the most vital and so far least attempted problem of education in adolescence.

If this explanation is true, then it seems to me that the following phenomena of pre-adolescent behavior will be well understood:

1. In no other age do youngsters show such a deep need for *clique and gang formation* among themselves as in this one. From the adult angle this is usually met with much suspicion. Of course, it is true that youngsters will tend to choose their companions from among those who are rejected, rather than approved of, by their parents. Perhaps we can understand why the more unacceptable a youngster is on the basis of our adult behavior code, the more highly acceptable he will be in the society of his own peers. The clique formation of youngsters among themselves usually has some form of definitely "gang" character: that means it is more thoroughly enjoyed by being somewhat "subversive" in terms of adult standards. Remember how youngsters often are magically fascinated by certain types of ring-leaders, even though this ring-leadership may involve rather harmless though

irritating activities—such as smoking, special clothes, late hours, gang language, etc.

From the angle of the adult and his anxieties, much of this seems highly objectionable. From the angle of the youngster and his normal development, most of it is highly important. For it is vital that he satisfy the wish for identification with his pals, even though or just because such identification is sometimes frowned upon by the powers that be. The courage to stick to his pal against you, no matter how much he loves you and otherwise admires your advice, is an important step forward in the youngster's social growth.

2. In all groups something like an *unspoken behavior code* develops, and it is this unwritten code on which the difference between "good" and "bad" depends. Up to now the youngster has lived within the psychological confines of the adult's own value system. Good and bad were defined entirely on the basis of adult tastes. Now he enters the magical ring of peer-codes. And the code of his friends differs essentially from that of adult society. In some items the two are diametrically opposed. In terms of the adult code, for instance, it is good if children bring home high grades, take pride in being much better than the neighbor's children, in being better liked by the teacher, and more submissive to the whims of the teaching adult than are other people's children. In terms of peer-standards things are directly reversed. Studying too much exposes you to the suspicion of being a sissy, aggressive pride against other children is suspiciously close to teacher-pet roles, and obedience to the adult in power often comes close to being a fifth columnist in terms of "the gang."

Some of the typically adult-fashioned values are clearly rejected by peer standards; others are potentially compatible at times, while conflicting at other times; some of them can be shared in common. Thus, a not too delinquent "gang" to which your youngster is proud to belong may be characterized by the following code-range: it is all right in this gang to study and work reasonably well in school. It is essential, though, that you dare to smoke, lie, even against your own father, if it means the protection of a pal in your gang, that you bear the brunt of scenes at home if really important gang activities are in question. At the same time this gang would not want you to steal, would be horrified if your sex activity went beyond the telling of dirty stories, and would oust you tacitly because they would think you too sophisticated for them. The actual group life of pre-adolescents moves between hundreds of different shades of such gang-codes, and the degree to which we adults have omitted opening our eyes to this vital phase of child devlopment is astounding.

3. The change from *adult-code* to *peer-code* is not an easy process for a youngster but full of conflict and often painful. For, while he would like to be admired by his pals on a peer-code basis, he still loves his parents personally and hates to see them misunderstand him or have them get unhappy about what he does. And, while he would love to please his family and be again accepted by them and have them proud of him, he simply couldn't face being called a sissy or be suspected of being a coward or a teacher's pet by his friends. In most of those cases where we find a serious conflict between the two sets of standards, we will find the phenomenon of *social hysteria*. This applies to youngsters who so overdo their loyalty to either one of the two behavior standards that they then have to go far beyond a reasonable limit. Thus, you find youngsters so scared of being thought bad by their parents that they don't dare to mix happily with children of their own age; and you find others so keen to achieve peer status with friends of their own age that they begin to reject all parental advice, every finer feeling of loyalty to the home, and accept all and any lure of gang prestige even if it involves delinquent and criminal activity. It is obvious that a clear analysis by the adult and the avoidance of counter-hysteria can do much to improve things.

How to Survive Life with Junior?

If any of the above is true, then it should have an enormous impact on education. For then most of this pre-adolescent spook isn't merely a problem of things that shouldn't happen and ought to be squelched, but of things that should happen, but need to be regulated and channelized. Of course, you can't possibly just let Junior be as pre-adolescent as he would like without going crazy yourself, and you definitely shouldn't think of self-defense only and thus squelch the emotional and social development of your offspring. How to do both—survive and also channelize normal but tough growth periods without damage to later development—is too long a story to complete in a short article. But here are a few general hints:

1. Avoid Counter-Hysterics

It seems to me that ninety per cent of the more serious problems between children and parents or teachers on which I have ever been consulted could

(*Continued on page 58*)

Parents' Questions and Discussion

The questions published here are selected and discussed by the staff of the Child Study Association, and the answers written by various members. The department is edited by Helen G. Sternau.

Our baby is six months old. We trained her right from the beginning to sleep alone, and she never used to cry when put to bed. But last month she was quite ill and, of course, that upset everything. After getting so much extra attention she isn't willing to be left alone any more. She cries as soon as I put her down to sleep. I can quiet her if I stay in the room a few minutes, patting her gently, but we're afraid she's getting terribly spoiled. Now that she's quite well again, should I just let her cry it out a few times, as my husband suggests? I suppose that's the right thing to do, but somehow I hate to do it.

Such Spartan methods are really not necessary. In fact, they may be quite harmful to your baby. She'll learn to sleep again without the extra petting, but for the time being she probably needs just that. Even though she's quite well again, she may not be entirely over the nervous shock that illness and pain bring to an infant. Her crying for you isn't just a "bad habit." It is a sign that she still feels insecure and in need of your reassuring presence. Crying is the only way she has of telling you about it. If you let her "cry it out a few times," she'll get over it, no doubt. But she'll be learning at the same time that you don't understand when she needs you, or that you don't care—and that isn't what you want to teach her, is it? Your own hesitancy to follow this course shows a sound instinctive response. Don't be too afraid to trust your basic maternal feelings.

As the unhappy experience of sickness gradually fades, your baby will begin to give up the extra attention quite easily. At first you can stop petting her and just sit near her bed. Presently you can try staying in the room, but at a distance. When she seems quite secure again, you can begin tucking her in and leaving her as you used to. Gradual weaning is always best, though it takes patience. Don't be too afraid of "spoiling" your baby. Ruthless methods do quite as much harm to the developing personality —and that kind of spoiling is a great deal harder to undo in the long run.

What shall I do about my three-year-old daughter? After being completely dry, even at night, for over a year, she has suddenly begun to wet her bed again and to soil herself now and then for no understandable reason. She was such a clean baby —no soiled diapers after the first six months and no daytime wetting after about eighteen months. She's in perfectly good health, but I can't seem to change this behavior. Even punishing doesn't help.

It is discouraging to have your little girl wetting and soiling again, but such relapses are not unusual. This sort of thing seems to happen for no understandable reason, as you say. When you look below the surface, however, there is always some reason, though it may be hard to see.

Children usually relapse in this way when something has happened in their world to make them feel upset or insecure. Is there a new baby in the family who is getting all the attention? If so, this may make your little girl want to act like a baby again. Has she older sisters or brothers who are teasing her in ways she cannot cope with? Perhaps you and your husband have been expecting more of her than a three-year-old can live up to comfortably. Or are you away from home much more than you used to be, so that she misses your care and attention? All these are possible reasons for her change in behavior.

Children who have been "trained" very early in bowel and bladder control are quite apt to go through lapses of this sort. In answer to adult demands, they have managed to establish this control before they were thoroughly ready for it. On comparatively slight provocation, this control breaks down. This is one of the reasons that many doctors now advise mothers to wait until a child is ten or twelve months old before beginning bowel training, and even later before starting to train for dryness.

Of course, punishing won't help, for it does not get at the root of the situation, and probably only succeeds in upsetting your child more. Handle the wetting and soiling as casually as you can, and don't make an issue of it. Try to get her cooperation, so that she will tell you herself when she wants to go to the bathroom. If she gets too absorbed in her play, remind her when she seems to show signs of needing to go. If she can handle her clothes herself, then let her go alone, if she wants to. Don't fuss about her wetting at night. After a while she will

come to find that being dry, even at night, is more comfortable and she will stop by herself.

The important thing is to build up the child's confidence in herself and give her plenty of love and attention. Then she will gradually be able to give up being a baby.

What should I do about sex play, giggling, and "dirty talk" that seem to go on among the children of our neighborhood? My own children, six and nine, while not the ringleaders, are involved too, I must admit. My husband and I are puzzled because we've always talked frankly in our home about sexual matters. We have answered the children's questions as they came along, and there have been no "secrets" about the body to stimulate their curiosity. I am at a loss to know why the subject continues to be so exciting to them.

We make a big mistake if we think that talking to children frankly about sex robs the subject of its exciting and "forbidden" qualities. Sex always has been and always will be an exciting subject at all ages; so much so, in fact, that a child is bound to feel it as somehow dangerous and therefore forbidden. Hence, the need for secrecy.

The real reason for parents answering children's questions fully and whenever they ask them is not to "impart facts," not even to "satisfy curiosity." We talk with our children about sexual matters so that they may feel that their parents know that all children are full of sexual curiosity and sex feeling; that their parents do not regard this as wicked and unnatural, but will go on loving them anyway. Parents who really "understand" know that a certain amount of shame and the impulse to hide from grown-ups is an inherent part of sexuality in childhood. They are neither surprised nor too alarmed at this.

Continuous sex play among children, however, does call for sensible supervision from a grown-up and a re-direction of energies into other more wholesome channels. Sometimes this is enough, but often children need a firm but unexcited adult who can say to them, "All this playing with and touching each other's bodies is not a good thing to do. I will tell you whatever you want to know about boys and girls and husbands and wives, but playing at these things is not a good idea," or words to that effect. Don't attempt to give reasons for this prohibition (they are much too complicated to be understood). Don't punish, threaten, or exact promises; but be on hand to see that there are fewer closed doors to retire behind and many more interesting and vital things to do.

Sometimes children of so-called "modern" parents get too much sex stimulation at home. They witness too much adult love-making or hear too much adult conversation. Many children are definitely excited by nudity, witnessing toilet procedures, and so forth. In this case the parents should see that they are not continuously exposed to these things.

Recently my husband and I have been distressed to find that our fourteen-year-old son is failing in several subjects at high school. He is really a bright boy and has always done well in school —not brilliantly like his brother, who is two years older, but better than passing. He knows we are upset about his failures, and seems pretty miserable himself, but can't explain it. Neither can his teachers. Can you suggest anything we can do?

Possibly some clue to your young son's problem may be found in your comparing him here with his older brother. Consciously or not, you or your husband may have made him feel that his brother's record was something you had hoped he'd live up to. Since he can't do this, he is probably upset by a sense of failure and anxiety which might easily cripple his efforts to do his best on his own level—even though you may never have expressed, in so many words, your disappointment in him.

But there might be other reasons, too, for his difficulties; the transition from elementary to high school with its stepped-up pace causes confusion to some children. Some are overwhelmed by the crowds, the tempo, the added homework demands. Even if you know that he has the mental capacity to handle high school work, I would suggest that you examine his program (with him) to see how it might be lightened for him in some way. Work with him a bit to see whether he needs help in planning and organizing his tasks—he may not know how to study. You might discuss with the school the desirability of tutoring to help him over some special stumbling blocks. This might make the difference between success and failure and relieve the strain on him. See that he has enough sleep and enough recreation, and be sure to check on the question of his general health. Don't make the whole thing a grim matter. Let him know that it is no disgrace to fail in some of his subjects—lots of children do—but that you believe it isn't necessary in his case, that you are willing to help him in every way you can, and that you do not expect more than his own best. Above all, find occasion to enjoy those things in which he excels, in school or out, and let him know that you value them, too.

Suggestions for Study: The Roots of Behavior

GUIDING PRINCIPLES:

I. In the Beginning—
The Earliest Years Count Most.

Our fundamental attitudes are developed in infancy, our feelings about people—friendly, fearful, hostile; our outlook on life—optimistic or pessimistic, secure or anxious; our capacity for emotional response—rich and free, or frigid and guarded; our adjustment to authority—rebellious, cringing, power-driven, or comfortable, etc., etc. The emotional climate which surrounds an infant is, then, of the utmost importance. Genuine warmth and affection and acceptance count from the first, perhaps even during pregnancy. It matters whether the parents want a baby and what sort of baby they want. The management of feeding, weaning, and cleanliness training is all-important. Frustrations must be gradually and gently imposed. Infantile needs must be fully met or they will persist to hamper future development. Consider the significance of crying, thumb-sucking, infant masturbation, and their wise management.

II. Troublesome Toddlers—
The Negativistic Stage.

Parents who have done well with young infants are often dismayed by the difficulties of the pre-school years. Negativism is normal in two- and three-year-olds—a step on the road to independence. But its management, wise or unwise, will have profound effects on the child's personality. Dirtiness, destructiveness, temper outbursts, hitting and grabbing, jealousies, fears, and food fads are to be expected in the pre-school years. The child is born a savage, and winning him to civilized ways is a slow process requiring patience and understanding. It is easier for all concerned if his parents learn to understand "why he behaves like that," and to look below the surface, attacking causes instead of symptoms. Some of the emotional struggles masquerade in deceptive guise—as illnesses, fears, sleep and food disturbances, exaggerated cleanliness or goodness, ritual observances, etc. Love and control from the same source is the key to guidance. From this point of view discuss ways of handling negativism, aggressive behavior, selfishness, cruelty, jealousy, food fads, fears, etc.

III. Difficulties in the Early School Years—
The Need Behind the Deed.

Many typical school problems have their emotional roots in the home. Only by understanding the cause can we do much to help the child. Emotional conflicts and fears are expressed in curious ways: in academic failures; in repeated minor illnesses such as colds, headaches, vomiting, intestinal disturbances; in stealing, lying, and violently aggressive behavior. Inability to get along with other children and repeated difficulties with teachers often mirror disturbed family relationships. Sudden outbursts of "bad" behavior or school failure in children who have done well before always suggest unusual strains at home—perhaps marital difficulties of the parents, or the birth of a new baby, or the disruption of the home by death or divorce or wartime duties. They may reflect worries over sex or friendships, rivalries or undue pressures of one kind or another. Home-school cooperation is always needed in finding the roots of such school problems. Sometimes expert guidance is needed as well.

IV. Looking Backward—
Adolescent Behavior Reflects the Early Years.

At best, adolescence is a stormy period as the child swings back and forth between his childish dependence and the independence he is trying to achieve. He has doubts of his own capacity, feelings which he does not entirely understand, impulses which he himself fears. His contradictory behavior is less difficult to tolerate if we understand the conflicting urges with which he is struggling. All the unsolved problems in family relations and sexual development light up again at this time. Early mistakes take their toll in increased stress and strain, but sometimes there is a chance to correct errors and build anew, for at this period problems are again as clear as they were in early childhood. "Normal" adolescent behavior must be distinguished from those acute problems which require professional help. Discuss ways of managing family life to reduce the inevitable friction and to give adolescents the needed guidance and support, without blocking their growth.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Mrs. Andrews has nursed her baby son for six months. The doctor has advised her to wean him, but the baby stubbornly refuses to take the bottle. Neighbors urge her to starve him into submission. Is this good advice? What course would you suggest?

2. Mrs. Klein has just come home from the hospital with her two-week-old baby. Ever since her return she has been worried about Mary, her three-year-old. Mary seems pale and restless, she's finicky about food, whiney and fretful. Several times she's awakened screaming at night. The clinic doctor thinks it might help if Mary's tonsils were removed. Is this a wise time to operate on the child? What other causes might account for her symptoms? What might help?

3. Bob is a rather unattractive thirteen-year-old, sloppy, dirty, and lazy about lessons. He's repeatedly in trouble at home and at school, but no amount of nagging and punishing seems to affect a change. His father thinks he should be sent to military school, where "they'd make a man of him." What do you think of that solution? What suggestions would you make for finding the roots of the trouble?

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Children's Bureau Publication No. 8 U. S. Department of Labor

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by Anna W. M. Wolf Simon & Schuster

The Nursery Years 1937
by Susan Isaacs Vanguard Press

The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child ..... Rev. Ed. 1937
by John J. B. Morgan Macmillan Co.

Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence 1940
by Caroline B. Zachry D. Appleton-Century

Personal Problems of Everyday Life: Practical Aspects of Mental Hygiene 1941
by Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy W. Baruch D. Appleton-Century

Book Reviews

The Freedom to Be Free. By James Marshall. The John Day Co., 1943. 269 pp. $2.50.

We who are alive today may well feel ourselves under the spell of an ancient Chinese curse which runs, "May you live in interesting times." Never have the times been more interesting or more terrible, more challenging, and more frightening. It seems to me that every American who is not simply drifting along on the tide of change, who seeks to turn and grapple with the world in which he lives would be helped by reading *The Freedom to Be Free.* For he will find here, not a blueprint for an ideal society, not a ready-made solution of our problems, but—what means infinitely more—a tool with which he can work out his own solutions.

Mr. Marshall's tool is modern knowledge concerning human psychology. The end is a society which conforms to the pattern of maturity—where each individual member attains his own fullest growth through the contribution he can make to the whole. This mature society is a democracy, and as yet no nation has fully achieved it. All the ills of the world result from the presence of immature tendencies in man. Emotionally insecure, not having developed the capacities which he and he alone possesses, he seeks security through emulating or competing with others. Consumed by a hunger to prove his worth, he seizes power and wealth, reduces the weaker to subjection. From these aggressive impulses spring wars, conquest, imperialism, racial discrimination, economic and political domination, and in education authoritarianism and a sterile classicism.

Not only Germany and Japan, "the wayward nations," but the democracies also manifest symptoms of insecurity and aggression. In America bureaucracy in government, the domination of experts, centralization and cutthroat competition in industry, and race problems are some of our symptoms of immaturity. Mr. Marshall sees the present war not as war but as revolution, as the upsurge of the common man, as an evidence of his unconquerable will not to gain power but to assert himself, to grow, to live in freedom, to throw off the yoke of both benevolent paternalism and of ruthless domination.

This book, as was said, offers no blueprint for an ideal society. It offers rather suggestions, and these are not airy theories, but are based on tangible evidences of positive tendencies in the American people —such tendencies as consumers' cooperatives, developments in the Department of Agriculture, federal aid to vocational education, the late NRA, and the progressive education movement. The author believes that all individuals and groups who are capable of growth can gain insight into their own problems, and is confident that when this insight has been gained, the will to solve them will follow.

The style is strong and forcible; it carries the reader along at such a rapid, almost headlong, rate that he feels the urge to return to its pages again and again. The book is packed with brilliant illustrative material drawn from many fields. This reviewer feels that if all of us could learn to use Mr. Marshall's insight as well as he has, we might find the Chinese saying to be, not a curse, but a blessing.

AGNES E. BENEDICT

The Care and Feeding of Children. By L. Emmett Holt, M.D. Revised by L. Emmett Holt, Jr., 1943. D. Appleton-Century Co. 321 pp. $2.00.

One of the most notable advances made in the field of child care and development during the last decade has been the demonstration of the close bond between the physical and emotional development of children. Today a pediatrician must not only be a clinical physician but he must have a sound knowledge of child psychology as well. And in the same way one expects that modern books on child care will not present the physical care of the child without taking also into consideration the recent advances in our knowledge of emotional development and the roots of behavior problems.

"The Care and Feeding of Children," originally published in 1894, and undoubtedly the most widely read book on the subject, proved so popular that it has been called "The Parents' Bible." Now it has been republished in a revised and enlarged edition, by L. Emmett Holt, Jr., the son of the author. A book of such reputation and wide circulation should aim, as the preface states, "to keep its content abreast of the knowledge of the day." But in this attempt the author, in the opinion of the reviewer, seems to fall far short. Many of the statements and suggestions offered here are of the kind that are now considered by child psychiatrists and psychologists to be detrimental to the best child development. It would be indeed difficult to review all of these, but a few

examples will suffice to demonstrate the general tenor of the opinions presented in this book.

It is suggested, for example, that bowel training be begun in earliest infancy, that an infant may be completely trained "usually by the third or fourth month if training is begun early." In answering the question "What is the best method of training?" the following is suggested: "At first there may be necessary some local irritation, like that produced by tickling the anus or introducing just inside the rectum a small cone of oiled paper or a piece of soap."

Today most pediatricians with thought for the emotional health of the child do not approve of such procedures nor do they advise too early bowel training, preferring to let the baby be a baby for at least eight or nine months before imposing the discipline of adult habits upon him. And when definite resistance is encountered, the modern practice is to postpone bowel training until the ages of 12 or even 18 months, if necessary.

The book advises breast feeding, but only because it "is the safest method of feeding infants." The equally important emotional value of breast feeding for both mother and child is completely ignored. One would gather from the text that nursing is only a food-getting mechanism. Nowhere is there any indication of the warmth and comfort and sense of friendly human contact which the baby gets from the nursing experience. It is also advised that an infant be kept at the breast "seldom more than ten or twelve minutes. . . . Shortening the baby's nursing time often proves a great relief to the mother and is better for the baby."

In the section on bottle feeding also, the emphasis is on getting the feeding over as quickly as possible, "usually not more than fifteen minutes." Here again, there is no suggestion that the feeding period should be a pleasant one for mother and child.

Other examples of the lack of understanding of the emotional aspects of child care are especially evident in the sections on eating and sleeping. In discussing loss of appetite, vomiting and the causes of disturbed sleep, the strong emotional factors involved are completely ignored.

The author advises introducing new foods to a rebellious infant in the following way: "It may be necessary to withhold other food for several feedings until he becomes sufficiently hungry to take the article in question."

And one final selection which shows an astounding

(*Continued on page 60*)

Introduction to EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

By **HARRY J. BAKER**

Director of the Psychological Clinic, Detroit Public Schools

THIS NEW BOOK examines all aspects of exceptional children—vision, hearing, speech, crippled conditions, neurological and psychogenic disorders, behavior problems, etc. Children with exceptional minds as well as physically handicapped children are discussed. Personality and mental characteristics are emphasized and full information is given on diagnosis, causes, remedies, preventions, history of development and educational problems. Each abnormality is described, interpreted and related to the total adjustment of the child. It is written for the most part in non-technical language; contains liberal references, many questions and topics for discussion.

Illustrated. $3.50

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11

Children's Books Can Be Weapons

IT MAY be true that books for children will not help to win this war. But there is no question that our young people will inherit the earth —its post-war problems and its opportunities. Some of them are going to participate in the rebuilding of a war-torn world in far-flung places. Others will have a role in making, here in America, a truly democratic way of life.

The books our boys and girls read, therefore, can be weapons of democracy. And they can be increasingly powerful ones. Through this medium young people can very early be helped to understand some of the realities of today's world, and some of the possibilities for improving it.

Looking at an over-all picture of recent books for children, we find only a small number which will serve toward this end. There have been a few publishers, editors, and writers who have blazed the trail; we have had a sprinkling of books which have dared to present serious social problems in fine fiction form palatable to the young.

The Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association, seeking to focus attention on the need for this kind of writing for young people, this year offered an honorary award to the most challenging book of 1943.

On December 7, at the annual children's book meeting of the Association, this award was presented to John R. Tunis for his *Keystone Kids,* "a book which faces with honesty and courage real problems in our children's world today." This engrossing sports story, which young people will enjoy for its own sake, is also an effective presentation of the problem of anti-Semitism, handled in relation to team play and democracy. Like the author's earlier book, "All-American," it comes to grips with real problems which young people must face in their own world.

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, in presenting the award, stressed the urgency of relating children's reading and thinking to the needs of the world today. Mr. Tunis made a profoundly moving plea that the brilliant and inspired writers of our day and the coming younger writers of tomorrow be urged to turn their attention to this task so vital to America's future. He begged writers, publishers, educators, and parents to see the dignity and rewards of writing stimulating books for young people.

Other noteworthy books of 1943 which emphasize real and pressing problems in the current scene were given honorable mention by the Committee:

Enemy Brothers, by Constance Savery, which deals with the reeducation of a boy trained in Nazi ideas to England's democratic way of life; *Incident in Yorkville,* by Emma Gelders Sterne, in which a Nazi-educated boy is slowly converted to democracy in New York's German-American district; *Struggle Is Our Brother,* by Gregor Felsen, a story of stark realism and courage among Russia's youth fighting in guerrilla bands to expel the Nazi invader; *Teresita of the Valley,* by Florence Crannell Means, in which a young Spanish-American girl in Colorado faces the problems of all minority groups fighting intolerance, striving for acceptance; *Jonathan's Doorstep,* by Helen Clark Fernald, showing the proud traditions of an old New England family challenged by the modern world and by refugees from war-torn Europe; *Shark Hole,* by Nora Burglon, an exciting mystery story wherein a public school is the center for tolerance and cooperation in Hawaii's heterogeneous population; *The Level Land,* by Dola de Jong, the tale of a lively and very human Dutch family facing the Nazi invasion of Holland with courage and faith in the future; *Pigtail Twins,* by Anne Halladay, a charming little story of second-generation American school children and their parents, from many lands, who learn about our way of life.

The Committee plans to continue, through an annual award, its efforts to encourage the publication of such books—books which contain, along with a good story, a true picture of today and a challenge of tomorrow. For it believes that such books are weapons—forming attitudes and opening up to impressionable young people the hope of a better world where real democracy and the dignity of human freedom may continue to flourish.

TODDY BERNSTEIN,
For the Children's Book Committee

AMERICAN RED CROSS

The 1944 War Fund drive for $200,000,000 is set for March. Give generously so that the Red Cross may continue its work on an undiminished scale.

Announcing

the opening of a bookshop children can call their own

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It's a unique shop planned to encourage children to select books themselves and establish good reading habits early. It's a place where they can browse and choose the books they really like.

It's carefully thought out right down to the last, easy to reach, well-lighted shelf. Books, for ages 6 to 16, are arranged by subject, not by age, in view of one well established theory that a child's reading is determined first by his interests. There are low tables with books of current interest, a bulletin board of young book news, and most important of all there's Eleanor Brent.

Eleanor Brent is the Little Bookshop's consultant, a woman who knows books and knows children. She's there not only to help children in their selection, but to assist parents, librarians, and teachers in finding the right books for young people.

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Parents Contribute

In the place of our regular "Science Contributes" department we here present these interesting contributions by two well-informed mothers who have courageously tried out some of the new trends in child development by practical experiments in their own homes.

WHEN A BABY CRIES

By Evelyn Emig Mellon

BEFORE the birth of my daughter I had been much impressed by the research done by psychologists, showing how temper tantrums can be conditioned in young infants by habitually careless handling of them, and I was anxious to avoid such manifestations of unhappiness in my baby.

As with every mother and her new baby, the tie between us was keen, and her crying aroused in me a desire to minister to her needs. My heart ached, not only for her but for all those babies emerging with shrill, tense cries from the nursery at mealtimes, going through many vigorous and unsatisfied moments before the interval of nursing and satisfaction arrived.

I knew that, during the first few months at least, a baby cried not because he "wanted" something but as an automatic response made at the prick of uncomfortable stimuli. He cried, for instance, not because he "wanted his feeding" but because his stomach was experiencing uncomfortable contractions from hunger. I decided to treat my baby's crying as a legitimate response to discomfort and not to suppress my own natural response as a mother—the urge to go to the baby and put things right for her.

As soon as we got home from the hospital, I began to establish a regime which would, as far as possible, avoid occasions for crying. The baby was dressed very simply, in sleeveless shirt, diaper, and nightgown. To avoid bothering her with unnecessary ministrations, she wore her garments for 24 hours, unless they became damp. A waterproof sheet folded inside a diaper and laid underneath her—between her diaper and her gown—afforded protection to her clothing without hampering the free circulation of air.

Fortunately the baby was "good," that is to say, she was healthy and her food seemed sufficient to her needs. She went through one period of chewing her fists and crying both before and after nursing—clear indication that she was not getting enough to eat—which was promptly reported to her pediatrician, who

(*Continued on page 62*)

FEEDING A BABY ON DEMAND

By Dorothy Nathan

LIKE most prospective new parents, my husband and I devoted many a dinner-table conversation to the fascinating subject of bringing up baby. We had been especially interested in the articles on self-demand feeding by Frances Simsarian which appeared in the fall and winter 1942 issues of Child Study. Though we did not have Mrs. Simsarian's professional training in child care, we decided to try the system anyway. The simple idea of feeding a baby when it was hungry appealed to us. After all, a newborn infant can't tell time by the clock, and if hunger creeps up on him an hour ahead of schedule it seems too bad, we agreed, to make him wait until it is precisely ten or two or six. Also, it seemed only fair to give the baby at least as much flexibility as we permit ourselves in the way of deciding when we are hungry and how much food we want to eat.

Another thing we decided was that our baby would hardly cry for exercise alone, any more than we would ever weep for such an unusual reason. We were certain that he could exercise quite as effectively by kicking and cooing with contentment. And so we established the principle that we would not consign our baby to long periods of wailing dissatisfaction if we could possibly avoid them.

Many of our friends were horrified at these plans and warned us that we would spoil our child right off the bat. The more you give in to him, the more he'll demand, they assured us. You'll never have a moment's peace.

In spite of private misgivings now and then in the face of these dark predictions, we decided to proceed on our course. We found it hard to believe that an infant was really so insatiable in his demands. We thought that if we met each need as it arose he could not help being a satisfied baby, and a satisfied baby could hardly be the demanding tyrant our friends conjured up. At least, it seemed worth a trial.

In the hospital where our baby was born, he was immediately placed on the standard four-hour sched-

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At Last
AN AMERICAN HISTORY

WHICH YOU DO NOT HAVE TO COAX YOUNG PEOPLE TO READ!

Partial Contents

KU KLUX KLAN
WEDDING OF THE RAILS
HEROES AND HOSTILES
RIDE 'EM COWBOY
BULLS AND BEARS
BOSS TWEED
HOW TO GROW RICH
KNIGHTS OF LABOR
LITTLE TIN GODS
ON THE BARGAIN COUNTER
REMEMBER THE MAINE
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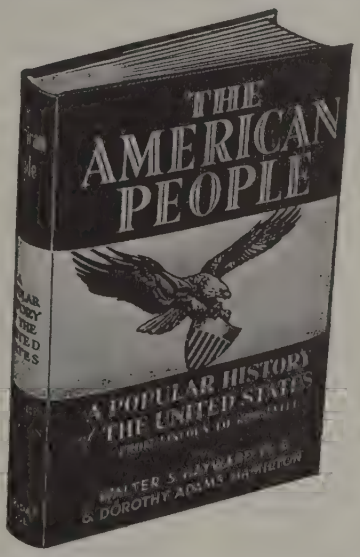

Partial Contents

TEACHER SAYS
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PRE-ADOLESCENTS—

(*Continued from page 48*)

have been easily avoided. They were not inherent in the actual problems of growth. They were produced by the hysterical way in which the adults reacted to them. Most growth problems—even the more serious ones — can be outgrown eventually, though this may be a painful process—provided the adults don't use them as a springboard for their own over-emotional reactions. This does not mean that I advocate that you give up and let everything take its course. I do suggest you study the situation and decide where to allow things and where to interfere. The problem is: whichever you decide to do—the *way* you do it should be realistic, free from hysteric over-emotionalism. With this policy in mind you can enjoy all the fun of having problems with your child without producing a problem child.

2. Don't Fight Windmills

Let's not forget that pre-adolescents are much more expert in handling us than we ever can be in handling them. Their skill in sizing us up and using our emotions and weaknesses for their own ends has reached a peak at this age. It took them eight to ten years to learn, but they have learned by thorough observation. While we were worrying about them, they were not worried about us, and they had ample time and leisure to study our psychology. This means that if they now go out on the venture of proving to themselves how emancipated they are, they will choose exactly the trick which will irritate us most. They will develop pre-adolescent symptoms in accordance with their understanding of our psychology. Thus, some of them will smoke, curse, talk about sex, or stay out late. Some will stop being interested in their grades, get kicked out of school, or threaten to become the type of person who will never be acceptable in good society. Others again will develop vocational interests which we look down on, will choose the company we dread, talk language which makes us jump, or may even run away at intervals.

But whatever surface behavior they display—don't fall for it. Don't fight the behavior. Interpret the cause of it first, then judge how much and in what way you should interfere. Thus, Johnny's smoking may really mean he is sore that his father never takes him to a football match, or it may mean he thinks you don't appreciate how adult he already is, or it may mean he has become dependent on the class-clown. Mary's insistence upon late hours may mean she doesn't know how to control herself, or it may mean she is sore because her school pals think you are social snobs who live a life different from theirs, or it may mean she is so scared that her sex ignorance will be discovered that she has to run around with a crowd more sophisticated about staying up late, so as to hide her lack of sophistication in another respect.

In any case, all these things are not so hard to figure out. Instead of getting excited and disapproving of the strange behavior, just open your eyes for a while and keep them open without blinking.

3. Provide a Frame of Life Adequate for Growth

No matter how much you dislike it, every pre-adolescent youngster needs the chance to have some of his wild behavior come out in some place or other. It will make a lot of difference whether or not he has a frame of life adequate for such growth. For example: Johnny needs the experience of running up against some kind of adventurous situation where he can prove he is a regular guy and not just mother's boy. Cut him off from all life situations containing elements of unpredictability and he may have to go stealing from the grocery store to prove his point. Give him a free and experimental camp setting to be adventurous in and he will be happily pre-adolescent without getting himself or anybody else in trouble. All youngsters need some place where pre-adolescent traits can be exercised and even tolerated. It is your duty to plan for such places in their life as skillfully as you select their school or vocational opportunities.

4. Watch Out for Pre-Adolescent Corns

Most people don't mind their toes being stepped on occasionally. But if there is a corn there, that is a different matter. Well, all pre-adolescents have certain corns, places where they are hypersensitive. Avoid these as much as possible. One of the most important to avoid is harking back to their early childhood years. The one thing they don't want to be reminded of is of themselves as small children, yourself as the mother or father of the younger child. If you punish—don't repeat ways you used when they were little. If you praise—don't use arguments that would please a three-year-old but make a thirteen-year-old red with shame or fury. Whether you promise or reward, threaten or blackmail, appeal to their sense, morals, or anything else, always avoid doing it in the same way you used to do when they were little.

I have seen many pre-adolescents reject what their parents wanted, not because they felt that it was un-

reasonable or unjustified, but on account of the way in which the parents put the issue. There is something like a developmental level of parental control as well as developmental levels of child behavior. The two have to be matched or there will be fireworks.

5. If in Doubt, Make a Diagnostic Check-Up

Not all the behavior forms we described above are always merely "pre-adolescent." Some of them are more than that. After all, there are such things as juvenile delinquents and psycho-neurotics, and we shouldn't pretend that everything is bound to come out in the wash.

Usually you can get a good hunch about dangerous areas if you check on these points: How deep is the pre-adolescent trait a youngster shows? If it is too vehement and impulsive, too unapproachable by even the most reasonable techniques, then the chances are that Johnny's antics are symptoms not only of growth but also of something being wrong somewhere and needing repair. Often this may be the case: Five of Johnny's antics are just pre-adolescent, pure and simple, and should not be interfered with too much. However, these five are tied up with five others which are definitely serious, hang-overs from old, never really solved problems, results of wrong handling, wrong environmental situations, or other causes. It will do no good to brush off the whole matter by calling it pre-adolescent. In that case the first five items need your protection and the other five need a repair job done. Whenever you are very much in doubt, it is wise to consult expert help for the check-up—just as you would in order to decide whether a heart murmur is due to too fast growth or to an organic disturbance.

BEHAVIOR HAS ITS ROOTS DOWN DEEP

(*Continued from page 43*)

of tuberculosis. His mother was out working all day to "keep things together" with what she could earn. So Billy was quiet at school, but the shaking grew more noticeable. At times when I took him in my lap and held him close, I could feel the little convulsive body grow a little less tense—but only a little.

These seven children illustrate what we mean when we say "behavior has its roots down deep." I have tried to tell you what I saw of these children as their teacher, and some of the things it was important to know about them to go on teaching them. Surface behavior, like a fever, is only of symptomatic value. A fever may indicate one of dozens of illnesses and may be treated in many different ways, according to the diagnosis of the real illness. So, too, with behavior. On the surface we see the symptoms—the refusal to eat, fussing over going to bed, failure to learn to read, tantrums, upset stomach, hitting children, retreating into tense quietness. These are the things we see, but what we must deal with are the things we don't see so readily—the causes behind the surface symptoms.

When Ted's parents put the annoying hand in a cage and in other ways punished Ted for thumb-sucking, they were attacking only the symptom. Only after a psychiatrist helped them to see the unbearable loneliness Ted was suffering, and their responsibility for it, did they attack the real cause of his behavior symptoms.

This was true of Billy, too. Some of the school officials wanted Billy sent home for a month to "rest" and get rid of his advancing chorea. I persuaded them that there was no rest for Billy at home. He had far more chance to feel loved and to relax his fear-ridden body at school than in the home in which he lived. Billy needed rest, yes, he needed relaxation. But this, too, couldn't be tackled directly. 'Way down deep Billy needed to feel part of a family, to feel secure, to know he was loved, to be helped to see that the world was not coming down around his ears. The child who develops a body tic, whether it is face-twitching, shoulder-jerking, or trembling hands, cannot stop the symptoms by a direct attack on the tic. Only if the thing which is worrying him inside and sending tension out into his muscles is attacked will the symptom disappear.

Billy is one of the most important of these seven children because he is one of those most likely to escape attention. He was quiet and did not trouble anyone, that is, no one but himself. He was turning all his fears and tensions inward. He is the kind who carries his burden quietly and then snaps one day when the strain becomes unbearable.

Any one of these children might have shown a different set of symptoms to reveal their deep needs. They might have turned to stealing, lying, truancy. These, too, are symptoms of deep-seated conflicts and must be treated in terms of the cause. Many children steal things as a means of retaliating against a harsh and unreasonable adult world. As a matter of fact, Ted had a slight history of stealing, along with his history of parental beatings. Children often tell lies to cover deep hurts, or just to get attention. It is

so important to a child to have attention that he would rather get it in a negative way than not have it at all.

In these war times, let's remember how deeply children feel and how penetrating their emotional conflicts may be. We grown-ups are likely to become preoccupied with our worries and not leave enough time for giving children what they need for good growth. We may be tense and worried, and cannot give love as freely as children seek it. Perhaps we only need to be reminded to try to plan to be with our children more, to read to them just before they go to sleep, to give them that extra hug, that moment of sitting close in the lap with a picture book before dinner, that stroll in the park on Sunday with dad and mother, that deep assurance of being wanted, worthy, and loved. These are the things that matter most to children. If we give them freely, our children will not have to find devious routes to demand them of us.

BOOK REVIEWS

(*Continued from page 53*)

lack of understanding of how infants develop: "Babies under five months of age should never be played with; and the less of it at any time the better for the infant."

One cannot help but conclude that this book was revised without consideration of the recent advances in child development. It is interesting to note that none of the rigid specifications such as not playing with babies, or beginning bowel training as early as three months, or withholding the babies' regular food when introducing new ones, are advocated in a publication like the revised 1942 edition of the Children's Bureau's pamphlet on "Infant Care," where the emphasis instead is on how the emotional environment surrounding a young child's daily experiences are the thing which help or hinder him in developing into a wholesome friendly person. It seems unfortunate that today, when so many parents are at last becoming aware of these aspects of child care, that a book with such wide circulation should have been published in its present form.

MILTON I. LEVINE, M.D.

News and Notes

Special Session for Leaders

Following the Child Study Association's Annual Institute (see inside front cover for announcement) there will be a special session for leaders and professional workers on March 7 at Child Study Association headquarters. This will be a follow-up panel discussion on problems raised at the luncheon meeting on "The Roots of Prejudice." The discussion will center on the practical aspects of what professional workers can do about prejudices, and Mrs. Margaret S. Lewisohn, of the Public Education Association, will be chairman. For admission tickets to this special session, write to the Conference Secretary, Child Study Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York.

New Child Service Centers

An interesting development in the field of early childhood education has been launched with the opening of two new Child Service Centers in Portland, Oregon, under the general sponsorship of the Kaiser Company, Inc. These centers are planned for children from 18 to 72 months and charge a small fee. They have started operation on the day and swing shifts, but expect before long to operate 24 hours a day so that all mothers employed in making ships can do their important war job confident that their pre-school children are receiving the finest care.

The most noteworthy feature of these centers is that, though industry is sponsoring and helping to finance them, their entire operation has been turned over to an exceptional staff of people professionally trained, and in many cases nationally known in nursery education. Dr. Lois Meek Stolz, former director of the Child Development Institute of Columbia University, is the consulting director for the two centers; James L. Hymes, Jr., former assistant state supervisor of nursery schools in New York, is the director; and Miss Julia Jacoby and Miss Norah Clancy, both well known for their work with the pre-school children, are the supervisors of the two centers.

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Radio Programs

YOUNG children have for some time constituted the "neglected age" on radio networks, and it is therefore a special cause for rejoicing that the Blue Network is offering a new afternoon program addressed particularly to the nursery age. *Storyland Theatre* has all the elements of good entertainment for the very young: complete and simple adaptations of folk tales, with talking animals, kings and queens, enchanting original music, and just a bit of drama. A "moral" is tucked away in each story, well concealed. This program, presented on Saturdays at 6:15 o'clock E.W.T., meets a long-felt need for a nursery bedtime story.

Of interest to parents and others who are concerned with youth is a new program presented by the National Broadcasting Company, designed to meet the special problems of today. Each Saturday at 1 p.m., E.W.T., *Here's to Youth* dramatizes some aspects of young people's difficulties under wartime strains, and shows the ways in which various youth organizations are helping to meet these difficulties. Typical titles for dramatic episodes: "Danger—Mothers Working," "Brides of Mars," "Johnny Comes Home." The dramatizations are well handled to bring to the fore the particular points at which youth needs help today. The program is planned to interest parents and youth leaders, but young people themselves will be tempted to listen in, especially to those episodes in which they will recognize their own problems. It is noteworthy particularly as a demonstration of cooperative possibilities, for it represents the combined efforts and auspices of ten national organizations concerned with youth.

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For the Radio Committee

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WHEN A BABY CRIES

(*Continued from page 56*)

recommended an increase in her food supply, and the hunger behavior stopped.

By accepting her crying as an automatic signal of discomfort and attending to it promptly, I was able to keep her contented and comfortable. I do not mean to imply that I jumped to attention the instant she uttered a sound, but I treated her crying as a legitimate summons and responded to it. If she fretted before mealtime, I tried to help her to wait (provided she did not seem very hungry) by moving her into different surroundings, where the stimulus of the changed position or the new environment challenged her interest.

As a result, her crying became of the sketchiest kind. Her usual first reaction to discomfort was a gentle little "aaah." If this were not promptly responded to, she repeated with a second "aaah," and later with a third. Only on the rare occasions when a fourth protest seemed necessary would she lapse into plaintive but patient protest.

Into our family circle, however, there came an adoring but stern-minded relative, very much afraid that I was "spoiling" the baby. You had to ignore a baby's crying, she insisted, in order to show them that crying was useless. I finally decided to test this procedure.

When my baby was about four months old, therefore, I let her "cry it out" three times in the interest of discipline. Distressed, but Spartan, I sat and waited while a tired and hungry infant screamed herself into heavy, tear-stained sobbing. When the time for feeding her finally arrived, I took up an exhausted little creature who sighed spasmodically at intervals and remained depressed and disturbed for all the rest of her waking period. She also had considerable "gas," and once spit up her milk.

Each time I found that the results of "letting the baby cry in order to teach her not to" were not what the theory indicated, for after each of these experiences the baby would, for days, revert to bitter crying on the slightest provocation. The gentle little "aaahs" of yesterday changed into full-bodied complaints.

I now bent my efforts toward trying to return to our old happy pattern. Only by a completely quiet regime, and by anticipating her every protest before she had time to cry about it, was I able after several days to wean her out of this new method crying behavior.

During her early months I discovered that my baby cried chiefly from two causes. First, when her routine of sleep had been broken, especially by the summer heat, and she was tired from lack of sleep. Also, she cried when she was tired or bored by her surroundings, as when she had lain awake for some time "playing" in her crib.

So on hot nights, when the baby found it difficult to sleep—and on one or two rare occasions when she was suffering from intestinal discomfort—I stood over her bed and patted her to sleep. A very short period of this treatment was usually sufficient to compose her into sound and relaxed slumber. One time when the heat spell continued and the baby began to rely on this soothing, I gradually shortened the patting period, and finally omitted it. Instead, I responded with a low, funny sound to any attempted protest when I tucked her in. This never failed to make her smile, and while she was still happy about it I did a quick disappearing act which left her alone before she was quite aware of it. She never continued the protests.

If she seemed bored in the daytime, I worked out successful little ways of satisfying her. The baby soon ceased practically all crying, and for days and days on end was literally cheerful all of the time. When she was six months old she was taken away for a visit—always an exacting experience for a baby. However, she so successfully withstood even the trying experience of the strange environment that she provoked continuous and amazed exclamations from the adults. "Why, you'd never know there was a baby in the house." How a baby could be so active and investigative and also so "good" passed their comprehension.

There may be occasions in the life of the older baby, after six months of age, when he might be "spoiled" by dancing to his every whim. However, this seems to me most unlikely if the mother uses intelligence and consideration from the time of his birth. At seven months my daughter went through a bout of protesting her bedtime, perhaps caused by the distupted routine of the trip I mentioned above, and possibly also by the need for a changed sleeping schedule. I adjusted her routine, but at that time it seemed necessary for three nights to put her to bed and let her "cry it out." However, this seems to me to be very different from ignoring the legitimate appeals of the tiny baby.

The crying of the older baby comes into a different category. Charlotte Buhler says that crying from the ninth month on is usually "an appeal to the helpfulness of the community." I found this so with my

child. The last quarter of the first year is a singularly frustrating period for the child. He wants to creep, or to walk, or to investigate, and he is restricted by his own immaturely developed body, as well as by the restraints put upon him by the adults in his home. But at this age also I treated my child's cries as legitimate speech, and by so doing I was able to respond before the toddler had cultivated the pattern of using crying indiscriminately.

When she was a year old, an age at which many babies go through frequent frustrated and fretful intervals, this alert, active baby was happy for practically the entire period. She was neither pampered nor interfered with, and she had not formed the habit of protesting with tears. Perhaps it is pertinent that she passed through the "negative age" without showing indications of negativeness. It certainly shows that she was not "spoiled" because I did not imperviously let her "cry it out" in infancy.

FEEDING A BABY ON DEMAND

(*Continued from page 56*)

ule. Because Andrew weighed more than five pounds, he was expected to skip a middle-of-the-night feeding from the very beginning. It used to make me ache to hear the babies coming down the hall at six a.m., many of them shouting with hunger. I tried not to guess how long mine had been crying before his magic hour struck.

Another hospital regulation was that each nursing period be finished in an exact length of time, after which the nurse would march in and carry off the baby. Sometimes he was through eating, but most of the time he was not. So I waited impatiently for the day when we could go home and start a new regime.

The great day finally arrived, and with it a bad case of jitters. I had been given no opportunity to observe Andrew in the hospital, except during his brief feeding periods, so that when he cried I did not know whether it was from hunger or loneliness or indigestion or just plain cussedness. Until we could become more familiar with his ways, my husband and I decided to interpret any crying which began less than two hours after a feeding as some sort of discomfort, while crying after two hours would be taken to mean a possible hunger. At the outset we worried that, given free rein, Andy might die of overeating. We soon discovered our fears were silly. If he wasn't hungry he wouldn't eat—it was as simple as that. I kept a daily feeding record and soon realized that he was actually eating only six times a day, though it seemed more frequent because of the irregularity.

To be sure, the hospital had only allowed him five meals, but Andy asked for six from his first day home. Our pediatrician said the baby needed this extra feeding and would give it up as soon as he could manage without it. Sure enough, he went back to five meals a day when he was about six weeks old.

The mealtime hours gradually settled into a pattern during the interval from two to sixteen weeks. At first, as I have said, he was apt to eat at any time of the day or night. By the time he was four or five weeks old, however, enough of a pattern emerged from the record I kept so that I could judge quite accurately how each day would go, depending on the hour at which the eating cycle began. The baby seemed to want to eat at short intervals in the morning, which was usually his fussy period, and at longer intervals as the day wore on. He definitely preferred to take his longest break in the late afternoon and early evening, sleeping sometimes from four o'clock to around midnight. This did not suit us at all, because it meant that his "day" began again anywhere from two to four a.m. and every three or four hours thereafter. So, after much deliberation, we decided to interfere with the self-demand principle to the extent of waking him regularly for a ten p.m. feeding. We felt guilty about this at first, until we saw how ravenous he was the minute he opened his eyes.

Evidently time and nature are on the side of parents. All little animals, babies included, seem to relate themselves intuitively to the deep rhythms of night and day. We think it was this, rather than our dutiful ten o'clock awakenings, which led our baby to sleep through until five a.m. shortly after he was nine weeks old. From then on, except for a few slip-ups, we knew we could count on an uninterrupted night. We were still awakened with the chickens, of course, but this seemed a wonderful step forward.

In the next few weeks we noted with satisfaction a regular tendency toward a later waking hour. It crept by stages from five to five-thirty to six. When Andrew was about sixteen weeks old we made the wonderful discovery that he was willing to play amiably in his crib until about seven, even though he may have wakened earlier. At that point we felt we had truly rejoined the ranks of the civilized.

Perhaps a word should be said about the length of each nursing period. When we first came home

(*Continued on next page*)

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IN ITS 28th SEASON

FEEDING A BABY ON DEMAND

(*Continued from page 63*)

from the hospital, Andy nursed for what seemed to be inordinately long periods, occasionally fifty minutes at a stretch. But by the time he was six weeks old the usual stint was half an hour, and at sixteen weeks he had reduced it to twenty minutes. He always decided for himself when to quit, and to my knowledge he has never overeaten.

The upshot of all our careful feed-on-demand plotting was a complete surprise. By the time Andy was twenty weeks he was operating almost 100 per cent on the good old standard four-hour schedule which we had taken such pains to avoid! Some friends laughed and said we had certainly gone out of our way to prove that the standard schedule was the right one after all. Yet we know that it was obviously not the right one in the beginning, since he deviated from it so persistently.

Several of our friends, sharing our outlook, became sufficiently interested in the program to experiment with it, too. In each household the exact details have varied, but all of us find that we have unusually sparkling, well-fed, happy, and easy-to-care-for babies. Each infant operated on a custom-built schedule which he discovered for himself. Each found his favorite routine without any clashes of will, without any anger or frustration. We parents are agreed that such a result is well worth the early weeks of irregularity, extra time and thought.

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